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- 2 An old Lüneburg Heath farmhouse
- 3 The Harz
- 4 Göttingen

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Genscher gets Nato summit switched to Bonn

The Helsinki review conference in Madrid, dozing fitfully towards terminal adjournment, seems to have reached at least one satisfactory conclusion from Bonn's point of view.

With Nato Foreign Ministers gathered in the Spanish capital to censure Poland, Herr Genscher succeeded in having the venue of the June Nato summit switched from Brussels to Bonn.

In hosting the North Atlantic summit Bonn is keen to demonstrate the esteem in which it is still held as a strong and reliable partner by other Nato countries, especially the United States.

The proviso "still" relates to the watershed date on which martial law was imposed in Poland, dealing detente a grave blow.

For Nato it marks either the beginning of the North Atlantic pact's first fight for survival or the turning-over of a new leaf in its history.

By 10 June in Bonn at the latest we will know which of the two it is to be, although the points will be set in the months ahead.

A crucial deadline may be the Munich SPD conference in April. It could

sentencing majority opinion in the Federal Republic of Germany.

US public opinion already largely feels most people in West Germany are pacifists.

In retrospect the controversial Nato resolution on missile modernisation (and Germany it is controversial) seems to have marked a turning-point too.

It marked the end of an era during which Nato even ran military risks to promote the process of detente.

President Reagan, Defence Secretary Weinberger and Secretary of State Haig are now determined to ensure these days are well and truly over.

The balance of hold-style detente as they see it exclusively benefited the Soviet Union, which gained unilateral advantages and used them partly to build up military strength.

This claim is hard to refute. Yet Europeans in general, and Germans in particular, cannot, on either side of a less impermeable Iron Curtain, simply ignore the fruits of detente they have both harvested.

Herr Honecker, the East German leader, has promised Bonn "more normality" in ties with the GDR if it is only prepared to show a greater sense of partnership on matters of peace.

That may sound like music in the ears of friends of peace who are only too eager to be persuaded. Less naive observers see Herr Honecker's offer as part of a campaign originating in Moscow and aimed at tempting Bonn to part company with the United States and with Nato.

Yet it is not only blue-eyed pacifists and short-sighted provincial politicians

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pull the ground from under Chancellor Schmidt's feet if an SPD majority were to disown the Nato missile modernisation resolution launched and endorsed by Bonn.

Even if, as envisaged by the Social Democratic leadership, a fundamental decision on the Nato resolution is deferred until the autumn 1983 party conference, Munich is sure to show, vote or no vote, how much support Herr Schmidt's security policy still commands in his own party.

Assuming that in June a Social and Free Democratic coalition government headed by Helmut Schmidt is still in power in Bonn, hosting the Nato summit would bring little joy if the Munich SPD conference were to go against government policy.

President Reagan would then surely see pacifists demonstrating against missile modernisation and Nato as repre-



Carnival time

A royal kiss for Chancellor Schmidt from Karin III, the carnival princess of Bonn, Every year carnival revellers in the city go to the Chancellery and, in an old traditional symbolic act, they 'take over' the reins of power for a few hours.

(Photo: dpa)

at SPD regional conferences who are wondering out loud whether there might not be a peace policy either for Western Europe as a whole or for Bonn in particular.

The policy they envisage is one that would not commit them to Mr Reagan's America come hell or high water and not hand their heads on a platter to the Soviet Union either.

The Bonn government may not have given official consideration to a reappraisal of German foreign policy, but ideas are being reviewed by the Social Democrats, senior partner in the Bonn coalition, and by high-ranking members of the SPD.

But unless reality is to be ignored entirely, any such ideas are sure to come up against an insoluble security problem before long.

After 15 years of detente the security of Western Europe still relies entirely on the Nato deterrent, especially the indispensable protection afforded by the United States.

There has been no change in the common interest of Nato members to prevent war; Washington's latest strategy is aimed at this and nothing else.

It may call on both America and its allies to make additional sacrifices, but it would be wrong to respond in a manner designed to call Nato itself into question.

If the present Bonn government is no longer able to convince its own rank and file of the need to pursue a policy it considers to be in the common security interest, another government will have to do so.

Heinz Mörsberger
(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 20 February 1982)

El Salvador and Poland

Throughout their history both have always been pushed around by powerful neighbours, and people in both countries are still unable to determine their own development.

Each borders on one of the superpowers and both are oppressed by political oligarchies either imposed or kept in power from abroad.

Moscow and Washington are mainly motivated by other than moral interests no matter how much play they may make with human rights in their war of words.

Neither of the superpowers feels it could possibly afford to allow a stone in the mosaic of its alliance partners to work loose.

The domino theory could arguably

apply to both Poland and El Salvador. In Poland's case the Kremlin is afraid the virus of democracy might spread to other East Bloc countries.

In El Salvador the United States is determined to prevent the spread of social revolutionary (hence Soviet) influence to the Caribbean, which is of both strategic and economic importance.

The superpowers' interests are similar. The protective moves to which they resort likewise have much in common, falling little short of direct military intervention.

In both cases human rights go by the board in the bid to prevent inroads in the overall balance of East-West power.

In Poland freedom of opinion has been abolished, there are probably 20,000 Opposition Internees, mass arrests have been made and, according to Pax Christi, several dozen people have died.

In El Salvador torture is widespread.

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WORLD AFFAIRS

Steps towards a ban on chemical armaments

Bonn hopes it will be unnecessary for the Americans to resume the manufacture of chemical weapons in 1984.

It is taking steps at the Geneva disarmament talks to reach some sort of international arrangement on the question.

President Reagan announced the resumption because of persistent reports about Soviet production of chemicals for warfare.

Negotiations have been in progress at Geneva since 1969 on a total ban on chemical armaments. That same year Washington stopped manufacturing fresh chemical weapons to bring negotiations to a swift conclusion.

But Moscow has consistently refused to agree to indispensable checks on chemical weapons manufacture in the Soviet Union.

Despite progress at the conference table the Kremlin has so far effectively forestalled the signing of an agreement.

A first strike using bacteriological and chemical warfare was banned in the 1925 Geneva Protocol, signed and ratified by 104 countries and now considered prescriptive international law.

El Salvador

Continued from page 1

Government forces and right-wing vigilantes kill anyone who is as much as suspected of sympathising with the Opposition.

In the last three years the Roman Catholic Church in El Salvador says there have been at least 21,600 political deaths, with the guerrillas being to blame for a small minority of the murders.

Poland went through a quiet revolution. El Salvador, with a tradition of political violence, is in the throes of civil war.

Is what is happening there not inevitable in the circumstances? Yes, but not entirely. Were it not for Washington's massive military and economic support the junta would soon collapse and the bloodshed would soon be over.

Would the government that then took over owe allegiance to the Kremlin? Not necessarily. That too would depend on Washington.

If the United States were to impose a boycott, as on Nicaragua and Cuba, it would to all intents and purposes drive the new rulers straight into the Kremlin's arms.

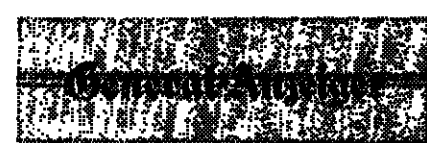
Yet it would be wrong to see Moscow and Washington as six of one and half a dozen of the other. Domestically, the one is totalitarian, the other democratic.

In the one, the Opposition is sent into exile or clapped in psychiatric wards. In the other, grievances can be voiced and the might can be made to fall.

So foreign policy similarities must not allow one to be blinded as to their fundamentally different value systems.

Yet America's justified criticism of Russia would ring truer if Washington were to reconcile its domestic ideals with those it pursued.

Jörn G. Praetorius
(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 18 February 1982)



A 1972 treaty on biological weapons goes even further, banning the development, manufacture and possession of weapons of biological warfare.

Countries that continue to stockpile them are guilty of a serious violation of international law.

In recent years the Soviet Union has stepped up its chemical armament, whereas all the United States still has are ageing stocks maintained in part in Germany.

Verification is essential, as the 1972 agreement has shown. It has been signed by 92 countries but contains no provision for inspection on the spot.

Since the mysterious Sverdlovsk incident in which, according to US sources, about 1,000 people died of poisoning by bacteriological or chemical weapons, inspection has clearly been the only way to promote a climate of confidence in which agreements of this kind alone can be fully effective.

There have lately been increasingly upsetting reports of an increase in Soviet output of chemical weapons. US intelligence reports claim they are manufactured in five factories in the Soviet Union.

Soviet troop manpower trained to use these allegations has yet to prove or disprove the United States has again claimed to have overwhelming evidence to suggest that Soviet chemical weapons have been used in Cambodia, Laos and Afghanistan.

A UN commission set up to probe these allegations has yet to prove or disprove them. Observers have not been allowed to enter any of the three countries.

Poland: Moscow hit by more Bonn sanctions

A partial ban on government officials travelling to the Soviet Union is one of several sanctions on Moscow announced by Bonn because of Poland.

This follows an earlier step of strictly enforcing travel restrictions by Soviet diplomats within the Federal Republic.

Under the new package:

- Government officials will not attend official Polish government functions
- Plans for another Soviet consulate-general in Germany have been shelved
- Talks on scientific and technological cooperation with the Soviet Union are to be adjourned
- So are talks on a proposed shipping agreement, including control of inland waterways traffic
- Agreement on economic cooperation is to be more strictly observed
- Other measures involving trade will be taken with the EEC as a whole

The restrictions were outlined by the chief government spokesman, Kurt Becker.

He said they formed part of an approach agreed on by NATO members.

These reports are partly the reason why President Reagan has said the United States is going to resume the manufacture of chemical weapons from 1984.

He had added, however, that:

- A treaty banning their use remains his main aim, and his decision is intended to speed up the Geneva negotiations;
- He is aiming not at US superiority but merely at a limited retaliation capacity;
- Old stocks will be withdrawn as modernisation progresses;
- A decision on stationing the new weapons in Europe will only be reached after consultations with America's allies and subject to their approval.

Officially, Bonn has responded with "understanding." The US decision is to be keeping with NATO rules whereby a limited chemical warfare retaliation potential is felt to be necessary.

Modernisation is seen in a positive light because the new binary systems are claimed to be less dangerous to store. Two substances that kept separately are harmless are stored separately in chemical shells.

The lethal mixture is not made until the shells are fired.

On the quiet, Bonn is hoping that old stocks stored in Germany will be withdrawn from 1984 and that the new weapons will in peacetime be based in the United States.

This, of course, is assuming that no embargo is negotiated and and zero option is agreed in chemical warfare.

The German bid at Geneva is aimed at solving the verification problem by practical proposals. Bonn has sought in the past to show that this problem can be solved.

At the first UN disarmament conference in 1978 Chancellor Schmidt invited the 40 members of the Geneva talks to attend a workshop in the Federal Republic of Germany where they were shown practical inspection procedures.

The Soviet objection that on-the-spot checks of industry tended to make industry less competitive in the civil sector was convincingly disproved.

Wolf J. Bell
(General-Anzeiger, 17 February 1982)

Norwegian PM puts Oslo point of view
Schmidt finds it harder to crack the whip

DER TAGESSPIEGEL

Norway has no intention of changing course and joining the EEC. Conservative Prime Minister, Kåre Willoch, said in Bonn.

Mr Willoch was speaking at a conference after meeting Chancellor Schmidt.

Norway, a member of NATO, has economic ties with the Federal Republic of Germany. These ties are likely to become even closer.

Norway is a key supplier of North Sea oil and gas to the energy-hungry Federal Republic and has decided to of its own on industrial cooperation.

Both countries are interested in collaboration within NATO because the Soviet Military build-up in the peninsula.

This build-up is viewed with alarm in Oslo because it has vastly changed military balance in northern Europe.

It is hardly surprising that Norway opposed to the nuclear-free zone in Scandinavia as proposed by Moscow as Mr Willoch told the Press.

This, he said, would amount to a lateral military neutralisation of Scandinavia, given that the Soviet Union has no intention of withdrawing its own clear forces from neighbouring areas.

The Soviet nuclear spy submarine that ran aground in Swedish territorial waters in the Baltic had a sobering effect all over Scandinavia.

Norway is protected from direct Soviet pressure by its membership of the North Atlantic by its membership of the North Atlantic pact, but as a country it is naturally interested in relaxation of tension in Europe.

On this point the Norwegian and German leaders were agreed, just as they stressed the importance of the Geneva arms control talks and the Helsinki review conference as the precursor of an all-European disarmament conference.

In view of the Polish crisis Norway would like to see the Madrid conference adjourned for a while, whereas it is less keen on relinquishing such a useful instrument as the Helsinki talks.

(Der Tagesspiegel, 17 February 1982)

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HOME AFFAIRS
Schmidt finds it harder to crack the whip

Chancellor Helmut Schmidt faces a crucial test at the national SPD congress in Munich in April: he is standing staunchly supports the decision by NATO in 1979 to allow American medium-range missiles to be installed in Europe, including the Federal Republic of Germany, beginning in 1983, unless a disarmament agreement is reached in the meantime. Opposition in the SPD to deployment is mounting. How strong that opposition will be by April is a vital question.

Chancellor Schmidt's threat to resign if the SPD rejects his stand on the NATO deploy-and-negotiate issue is becoming less effective in keeping party unity.

The threat becomes less and less a deterrent the more the SPD slides downhill.

One party regional association after another is demanding that decisions on deployment be postponed until after the SPD national congress in autumn 1983.

The pattern is the same with the State organisations.

The Central and Lower Rhine chapters want a moratorium on deployment. East Westphalia-Lippe rejects it out of hand.

Herr Schmidt's position at the Munich party congress in April will be tough no matter what happens.

Even if the hard-liners who want to halt deployment without qualifications fail to get a majority, the battle will go on.

This has been promised by Erhard Eppler, Schmidt's political foe, if the original proposal of the SPD executive committee is not modified to say that there will be no deployment while the Soviet-American talks in Geneva are still going.

But the demand for a deployment moratorium weakens the American negotiating position.

It strips credibility from the Federal Republic of Germany's deployment part of the decision.

Bonn Defence Minister Hans Apel was told at the Strategic Affairs Conference in Munich that the resolutions by local SPD chapters have upset the Americans. They are plainly fed up with the German see-sawing.

But what about the Chancellor's own credibility in view of the fact that large parts of his party are ready to stab him in the back only a few days after the confidence vote in the Bundestag?

Helmut Schmidt's constant complaints about his party (which he calls "a paper party"), his biting and humiliating criticism of the "endless bickering" of delegates to party congresses when it comes to debating complex issues show a high degree of contempt and mutual estrangement.

The Allensbach Opinion Survey Institute shows that polls now indicate two different political profiles. Many people, the Institute says, suspect that Schmidt's aims on major political issues differ from those of his party.

Only 36 per cent believe that the SPD is actually interested in realising the NATO decision.

The rift is not only marked by disunity among the extreme wings of the party but also by disunity between the party and the Chancellor.

Yet Schmidt's personal image is still very good. The reason is probably that he does not bow to his party's demands. But the SPD now increasingly realises that the only ones to profit from this schizophrenia are the FDP and the Chancellor himself.

As the SPD's prospects of remaining in government beyond 1984 dwindle, the party's will to self-assertion grows.

By the same token, Herbert Wehner's admonishments not to talk the employment programme into the ground and Genscher's warning to the same effect with regard to the coalition are becoming increasingly ineffectual.

A government that clings to power at any cost and whose style of government no longer shows any Social Democratic traits is seen as worthless by many SPD members and voters. For them, Schmidt is no longer "indispensable."

It would be tragic for Schmidt to end as a Chancellor without a majority in his own party.

In an opposition role, the SPD could regain its Social Democratic identity — but it would be the identity of a 30 per cent party.

Rainer Nahrendorf
(Handelsblatt, 16 February 1982)

Rumblings in the ranks

Leadership of the SPD is beginning to fight to hold the ranks on two fronts: the NATO issue and social policies.

There is smouldering resentment at the former and not enough money to carry through the latter, especially against FDP resistance.

Accommodating formulas alone are not enough to quell the rebellion against the missiles question.

How strong the rebellion is will not be known until April when the national congress in Munich is held.

And there could be drama: Willy Brandt, the party leader, says he will fight, while the Defence Minister, Hans Apel, has threatened to resign if the vote goes against the government's NATO policy.

Much still depends on Brandt's attitude because even those who oppose the NATO decision are usually prepared to listen to him.

But what imposes the biggest strain on the coalition and indeed jeopardises

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SPD national congress holds promise of drama



The SPD party strategists have come a bit of a cropper over the national congress in Munich in April.

Last autumn, they decided that the issues of peace and arms modernisation would be too hot an issue if they were allowed to become the meeting's focal point.

Instead they opted for employment policy, which then seemed less full of problems.

Not now. Not only has it become an explosive issue, but also delegates are evidently not going to allow nuclear arms to be forgotten, either.

When the strategists decided on what to do, they seemed to have logic on their side.

The Geneva talks on arms control were under way and a public discussion of the issue in the Federal Republic of Germany would impair America's position at the bargaining table.

The party leadership will probably have no problem in getting the double NATO decision confirmed.

But it will pay for it dearly: A party congress in the autumn of 1983 is to discuss the revamping of European defence, meaning that the NATO decision about the deployment of medium-range nuclear missiles in Germany will coincide with the congress.

It is doubtful in these circumstances whether the Bonn government will be able to stick to its NATO course.

Even in Munich it will be difficult to ward off demands for a moratorium on the deployment of medium-range weapons for the duration of the Geneva talks.

The trouble is that a moratorium would greatly weaken the West's position because it would enable the Soviet Union to prevent the deployment of new weapons in Western Europe for as long as it likes — simply by making the Geneva talks drag on.

As a result, a moratorium could be an unacceptable strategy for the Bonn government.

The economic affairs discussion in Munich is likely to be equally critical.

Clashing views on fiscal and economic policies have twice brought the coalition parties to the brink of a break in the past few months: in the autumn, when the consolidation of the budget was at stake and in January, when agreement on a job-creating programme was reached under the pressure of a vote of confidence in the Bundestag.

The mutual recriminations that followed (the FDP's warning to talk the programme and hence the coalition into the ground and the SPD's accusation directed at the Liberals to the effect that they had provoked the Social Democrats to the very limits of tolerance) clearly show the strain.

Even so, the proposal to be put forward in Munich by the SPD executive committee will call for more employment-generating measures in the form of a "job-generating offensive for the 1980s" and will state that the government has not yet gone to the limits of borrowing, that there is still plenty of scope for additional public sector investment and that even added taxation should not be taboo.

And since the Munich congress will also call for a special surtax to boost the labour market there will be even more areas of friction between the coalition parties.

Differences have always been unavoidable

In fact, the demands put forward in local SPD chapters are even more designed for a head-on collision with the FDP.

Naturally, the Social Democratic Party is no social-liberal party. Differences between SPD and FDP are unavoidable and have always been considerable — especially on economic policy.

But they were glossed over by similar views on other issues (social policy, reforms and consensus in judiciary policy).

Full government coffers helped find solutions acceptable to both camps.

Much has changed in the meantime. Two million jobless are putting on pressure, mainly on the SPD: the State must take action, say the trade unions.

The liberals, on the other hand, oppose any action for the sake of appearing active and warn against an even bigger budgetary deficit through added government spending.

It seems almost inevitable that this conflict, which the high unemployment rate has made a pivotal point of government policy will become worse.

It is therefore not surprising that the FDP, having experienced two major coalition crises, is worried that the Munich congress could pressure the SPD part of the government into further action and bring about yet another crisis.

Moaned a leading FDP politician recently: "Why can't they hold a congress on cultural policy and be done with it?"

Thomas Löffelholz

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 17 February 1982)



INTRA-GERMAN AFFAIRS

5,000 take to streets in GDR peace protest



Five thousand GDR people took to the streets in Dresden this month in a peace demonstration.

This is the first time that such a demonstration has been held under the East Berlin regime.

The occasion was the 37th anniversary of the bombing raid on Dresden in World War Two in which 35,000 were killed.

The fact that the march took place was historic. But how far the movement will develop can only be guessed at.

Another remarkable thing is that the police kept a low profile, either from wisdom or insecurity.

Last October, 300,000 demonstrated for peace in Bonn. In December there was a peace meeting between writers and scientists from both East and West in East Berlin.

Dresden's turnout would have been unthinkable without these two preliminaries.

It annoyed the East Berlin regime as much as the Bonn demonstration annoyed the Federal Republic government.

Both suspected infiltration from the other side.

GDR author Stefan Heym said at the December meeting that there should be in East Berlin a demonstration against nuclear arms in both West and East.

But the idea had to be shelved: it was a bit too much to ask of a State where children learn in kindergarten that peace must be an armed peace and where every year there is a parade of military might.

There are some parallels between Bonn and Dresden. Despite — or perhaps because of — the growing East-West tension, it is above all young people in the two Germanies who are earnestly trying to promote peace.

The Bonn demonstration did not question or jeopardise the existence of the Federal Republic of Germany, and the Dresden forum was not directed against socialism, although many a West German commentator would like to see it in that light.

Instead, it is possible that both were unwittingly guided by the repeated avowals by Helmut Schmidt and Erich Honecker during their meeting in East Germany that war must never again begin on German soil.

This alone is not enough for demonstrators, in neither East nor West. They are driven by the fear that Germany, without having a hand in it, could once more become a theatre of war — a nuclear war.

And if they cannot prevent the stationing of nuclear weapons, they at least want earnest talks on their reduction.

Another parallel between Bonn and Dresden — and by no means the most unimportant one — is the fact that in each case the Protestant Church played a part in organising the events.

In other words, the Christian peace ethic has become a driving force within the peace movement. It is also some sort of guarantee that the demonstrators are not rowdies but people who sincerely want peace.

Like in the case of the Berlin peace appeal, when the document's first signatory, Rainer Eppelmann, was arrested and then released again two days later,

the GDR leadership decided to keep quiet rather than give a power display. This is a good sign and it can only be hoped that it is due to the realisation that it is difficult for a state to retain its credibility in this day and age.

And let us hope that it is also due to the realisation that campaigns against Western nuclear missiles must make the public in the East ask the relevant question as to the Warsaw Pact's own missiles.

Perhaps the words Christa Wolf spoke during the Berlin meeting fell on fertile soil.

She said: "If it is really impossible to spare the world a nuclear war, then we must at least be able to take some liberties during the time that remains."

Karl-Heinz Baum
(Frankfurter Rundschau, 16 February 1982)

Rumblings in ranks

Continued from page 3

It is not security policy but social affairs — a sector with which the SPD identifies itself.

The warnings issued by the four regional association chairmen of the North Rhine-Westphalia SPD who said that they have had as much as they could take were addressed to the FDP.

It would be wrong, however, to view this as mere tactics. It is the expression of a mood at grassroots level. This mood was clearly conveyed by the latest local SPD congresses in North Rhine-Westphalia and by Herbert Wehner's meeting with trade unionists in Dortmund.

Wehner has warned the SPD of the consequences of a breakdown of the coalition. But this very breakdown has already begun with a process of estrangement.

The partners keep warning each other of the consequences; but how effective will these warnings be?

Achim Melchers
(Westdeutsche Allgemeine, 17 February 1982)

Appeal causes red faces in East Berlin regime



lin Rev. Rainer Eppelmann who has long spearheaded the struggle for peace. Among the first 30 signatories (they signed with their full names) was the GDR dissident Robert Havemann.

The appeal continues the peace initiatives as put forward at the Dresden State Synod of the Protestant Church and at the Federal Synod in Herrnhut.

It is cautiously formulated in some parts. Here the GDR government could hardly object. But other passages clash with the official stance.

It completely rejects arms and military hardware in general and points to the senseless waste of the labour and wealth used to produce weapons.

But it steers clear of accusations or concrete demands directed at either side.

It calls on the World War II victors finally to conclude peace treaties with the two German States and to withdraw their occupation forces from German territory.

The former allies are also called upon to issue guarantees of non-intervention into the affairs of the two German states.

The East Berlin government seems to have realised that its propaganda cannot retain credibility for ever.

This is probably why it permitted a public peace demonstration in Potsdam and materially supported the Authors' Peace Congress initiated by Stephan Hermlin.

A similar meeting organised by GDR intellectuals is said to be planned for March.

It remains to be seen whether the organisers of the Berlin Appeal will be allowed to print and circulate it. The East Berlin dialecticians can easily enough dig up one reason or another to forbid it.

The authorities can prevent a public discussion of the appeal within their territory.

They might even try to steer the discussion themselves. Either way, the whole thing is a thorn in the side of state and party.

Hans-Ulrich Kersten
(General-Anzeiger, 11 February 1982)

Travel to West eased, but it's still not a right



There has been a slight loosening of restrictions on people from GDR wanting to visit the West.

This is a result, however, small, of the Schmidt-Honecker meeting in the GDR in December.

But no one is under any illusion about the extent of the changes.

GDR people can come West for pressing family reasons. So many, now working out what relatives in the Federal Republic have silver wedding or 21st birthdays.

The new regulation is not a gift. Officials decide who goes.

No GDR citizen has a legal right to visit the West.

The ease up had become law two days before the official announcement.

During a meeting in East Berlin leading representatives of the young members' branch of West German Free Democrats, the chairman of GDR's youth organisation, by Kreiz, suggested intensifying tourism between the GDR and the Federal Republic.

At the same time, the GDR youth organisation travel agency Jugendtour came up with a surprise scheme pointing in the same direction: last year to travel destinations in other Bloc countries, the agency intends to include West Germany, France and Italy in its travel programme for this year.

But political observers say this does not mean that GDR youth will be allowed to travel to the West as individual tourists.

The cautious easing up on travel restrictions is a quid pro quo for a interest-free overdraft facility granted to the GDR by Bonn for the German trade.

But Bonn was primarily interested in reducing the amount of the computer exchange of Western money into GDR currency on crossing the border.

So far, there is nothing to indicate that the GDR is prepared to give up this.

But hopes are still held that it might.

Another positive sign is the fact that the East Berlin youth pastor Rainer Eppelmann, who had been arrested and released after interrogation.

Eppelmann is one of the initiators of a citizens' initiative aimed at a peace movement in the GDR.

It appears that he was only given a warning — a warning that applies to those who promote a peace movement.

The GDR has been stepping up its military and political propaganda campaign at home. But the release of Eppelmann shows that East Berlin does not want to create a new incident which would interfere with intra-German relations.

Gestures of goodwill seem more opportune at this juncture.

Liselotte Müller
(Mannheimer Morgen, 12 February 1982)

TRADE UNIONS

Moral crisis as roof falls in at Neue Heimat

Almost the entire managing board of Neue Heimat, the trade union-owned property organisation, has been either sacked or suspended following allegations in the weekly newsmagazine, 'Der Spiegel', that its chief executive, Albert Vietor, and other leading figures have been using their positions in the concern to line their own pockets.

Many trade unionists are angered by allegations of malpractices at Neue Heimat, the trade union housing and construction group.

"It really makes you feel like turning in your union card," they say, and that should surely make the DGB, Germany's Düsseldorf-based Trades Union Confederation, sit up and think.

Union leaders have been prompt to get the message after reports in 'Der Spiegel', the Hamburg newsweekly, of unethical business activities by Albert Vietor and other members of the Neue Heimat board.

Their initial response was to suspend them pending an investigation. A week later, when the unions met to decide what action the supervisory board should take, all but one member of the board were sacked.

So far, so good. Action had to be taken. The week was enough to extend the muckraking from Neue Heimat in Hamburg to the DGB as a whole.

The ex-directors of the trade union housing and construction group seem to have behaved in a manner more in keeping with what one might expect of a shady operator.

As managing director of Neue Heimat Herr Vietor drew a handsome salary of DM524,000 a year, yet he had figureheads run companies on the side that earned him a small fortune in addition.

Even worse, assuming there is truth in the allegations, some of these companies earned profits at the expense of tenants in housing built or managed by Neue Heimat.

Asked to comment, he said everything had been perfectly legal, and he still paid well over DM100,000 a year in tax — and would gladly avoid paying that too if he could see a legal way of doing so.

Trade union companies come in two fiscal categories: non-profit and conventional commercial ventures. The Neue Heimat housing division is non-profit, whereas the construction division is run along conventional commercial lines.

But both are trade-union owned companies run along cooperative lines defined by DGB, the Düsseldorf-based German Trades Union Confederation, in May 1972.

Their aims are: to ensure for the staff a maximum of freedom of decision and responsibility; to make possible a fair share of incomes and wealth in commerce and industry; to prevent abuse of economic power; and to enable the public to grasp economic relationships by giving public account of company data.

The use to which profits are to be put is arguably the most important point on

Advocacy of tax avoidance was hardly appropriate for the boss of a trade union company when the unions were calling for surtax on higher income brackets to finance job creation.

Besides, Neue Heimat was set up by the trade unions as a non-profit organisation to serve the public good.

The moral principal of the trade union movement, including a fairer economic system, are principles by which trade union enterprises must clearly abide.

The economic system as it stands is geared to output, or performance, and to profit. Justice is not its strong point, but at least it works.

The Chancellor and Vice-Chancellor in Bonn time and again rightly ring the praises of the German trade unions and the part they play in the economy.

It includes throwing stones whenever the need may arise, but people who live in glasshouses should not throw 'em.

No-one expects trade union leaders to wear sackcloth and ashes, and executives of trade union enterprises should by all means draw salaries comparable with those paid in private enterprise to avoid being tempted to earn money on the side.

Union membership must not, after all, be the sole yardstick of their qualification for the job.

Trade union officials, especially the top rank who negotiate wage agreements with the employers, should be paid enough not to feel a cut below the management.

But union officials must abide by strict and arguably old-fashioned moral tenets. Those who want to get rich much look elsewhere.

The consequences would be devastating if the DGB were as much as to convey the merest impression of relaxing moral standards, and democracy as a whole would stand to lose.

We live in an age when young people in particular, but by no means they alone, are wondering how much moral standing state and society, and the people who represent them, retain.

This is the viewpoint from which the Second Act of the Neue Heimat affair must be seen. Allegations of impropri-

ty have not only been levelled at Herr Vietor.

Another man at the receiving end of the current round of muckraking has been Walter Hesselbach, supervisory board chairman of the holding company that controls the trade unions' business empire.

He too stands accused of earning money on the side by means of nominees, while trade union leaders have been criticised for investing personally in Neue Heimat projects.

Heinz Oskar Vetter, the DGB general secretary, and Eugen Loderer, the leader of IG Metall, the 2.7m metalworkers' union, would have done better to disclose their investments before the article in 'Der Spiegel'.

They rightly replied to critics that their investments in West Berlin were neither actionable nor anywhere near illegal.

Like any other member of the public, as Herr Vetter put it, they had merely invested in a perfectly legal tax write-off operation.

But was it true that this investment opportunity was only offered to a chosen few? If so, the situation is less satisfactory?

First, not everyone is in a position to go in for tax avoidance in this way. You need to earn an above-average income to make it worthwhile.

Second, the unions rightly condemn a tax system that leaves loopholes for the rich but no joy for the ordinary working man.

How much more satisfactory it would have been if trade union leaders had been able to say they preferred not to go in for such practices!

The Neue Heimat affair is not yet over. It will not be settled until we know why the supervisory board was so lax for so many years.

The group has long been criticised for one reason or another. There has always been talk of tenants who have taken the company to court or of Albert Vietor's majestic way of life.

Is the present supervisory board effective enough? Has the time not come to think in terms of a better system of checks and balances for trade union enterprises?

So far all the union leaders have done is to react to one disclosure or another. If only the DGB were to do some muckraking out of its own without being forced to do so in this way!

The credibility of a major democratic institution is at stake.

Giselher Schöne
(Kölnischer Stadt-Anzeiger, 16 February 1982)

Confederation has spelled out the rules

which trade union enterprises are felt to differ from private enterprise.

"In private enterprise," the DGB guidelines put it, "profit is, in the long term, the overriding yardstick of success to which all other aims are subordinate."

"In cooperative enterprises it is but a means to an end, the overriding objectives being economic, welfare and social policy targets."

Non-profit status is acknowledged by the government in accordance with criteria clearly outlined when cooperative activity is felt to be desirable in a trade or industry.

The main advantage of non-profit status is that the company does not pay

tax on earnings or assets, apart from sales or turnover tax.

In return, it has to comply with a number of regulations, including the following:

● Dividends paid must not exceed four per cent;

● If the company ever into liquidation its shareholders will only be paid the nominal value of their holdings;

● the range of company activities is clearly outlined and strictly limited;

● prices charged for goods and services must be appropriate, that is, cover costs, including interest on capital;

● and management costs must likewise be appropriate.

According to the Cooperative Housing Corporation this is taken to mean that as a rule executives of non-profit organisations must not be paid higher salaries than comparable officials in civil service jobs.

Roland Bunkenhal
(Frankfurter Rundschau, 11 February 1982)



Diether H. Hoffmann... the new broom.
(Photo: Sven Simon)

The new chief steps in

Diether H. Hoffmann posed for the Press on a Saturday evening at the Frankfurt head office of the Bank für Gemeinwirtschaft, of which he had been a director since 1969.

Heinz Oskar Vetter, general secretary of DGB, the German Trades Union Confederation, had just broken the news that he was to take over at the helm of Neue Heimat, the trade union housing and construction group.

Dr Hoffmann confessed to feeling a little weak at the knees but he didn't look it. If anything, he looked vaguely amused at suddenly being the centre of so much public interest.

The unions had spent a week looking for a successor to Albert Vietor at Neue Heimat in Hamburg, but Hoffmann as head of the trade union bank is sure to have been their first choice.

He spent five years as assistant to Walter Hesselbach, then managing director, now supervisory board chairman of the bank, before taking over as spokesman for the board of directors in July 1977.

So Berlin-born Dr Hoffmann, 52, is no stranger to management, although he originally planned to study chemistry. But his degree and PhD thesis were in law.

He worked for DSC, the wagons-lit and railway catering company, and in the legal department at Deutsche Bank before joining the Bank für Gemeinwirtschaft in 1959.

Those were the days in which the six regional trade union banks merged to form the BfG and a head office organisation was set up. He joined the board in 1969, assuming responsibility for foreign business.

In 1977 he became a spokesman for the board.

He swims regularly to keep fit. Other leisure pursuits, especially reading, he is sorry to say, tend to have to wait until the holidays.

Had he any idea how he was going to set about putting matters right in Hamburg? No, he candidly admitted, but Diether Hoffmann should not take long to settle in: He knows his banking, he knows the trade union and cooperative movement and as managing director of Neue Heimat's bank he is sure to be well aware of the group's financial problems.

Besides, he has backing of his old boss, Herr Hesselbach.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 15 February 1982)

TRADE

East bloc ban: what would hit who, and how hard

Christ und Welt
Steinbocker Medien

Many firms involved in business with East bloc countries have got themselves into deep water because of it. Others depend so much on this trade that any embargo would be disastrous.

It is no coincidence that the Soviet media keep emphasising how important East bloc trade is to keep German workers in jobs.

A major example is the steel and steel products manufacturer, Mannesmann AG. Since 1970, Mannesmann has shipped more than 10 million tons of pipeline to the Soviet Union.

As a result it has become largely dependent on Soviet orders.

The Russians know that they have the company over a barrel, and they are taking advantage by forcing prices down.

In the case of one order for pipeline components, the firm tried to extend delivery times.

This was not accepted. Instead another big producer, Estel/Salzgitter, jumped into the breach and won an order for 100,000 tons of spiral-welded high-pressure gas pipes.

Salzgitter built Moscow's new airport (it was one of the contractors) and is supposed to be building the Soviet Union's new embassy in Bonn.

Another firm which has its books full of Soviet orders is AEG-Kanis, which is making a bid for a DM700m order for gas turbines.

But the deal depends on the shipment of American electronics, which fall under the Reagan embargo.

A question which these mammoth deals should raise is how much the Soviet Union is helped and in what way.

The usual assumption is that a boycott or sanctions would not make the Soviet Union change its political aims.

That means: continue trading, because nothing will be altered if you stop.

However, it is often overlooked that the transfer of technology and know-how only gives the Russian scope to use more of their resources in such areas as military development.

Europe has managed to give the impression that trade with the East bloc is of major importance to it.

Some American newspapers say this is the reason for Bonn's *Osipolnik*.

The fact is, though, that trade with the East is important only for some companies, those that have stepped up their trade with, for example, the Soviet Union, to a level where sanctions would hit hard.

Many other companies are too busy trading with the rest of the world to bother about the Russians and their satellites.

The more specialised a firm's product, the better the chances of selling it somewhere on the world's markets and the less the interest in selling to Moscow.

Demand for specialised technology, especially micro-electronics and computers, is enough to keep most producers busy.

An example is General Electric, a US company that was supposed to have supplied compressors, turbines and all sorts of other equipment for the pipeline project through its French subsidiary in Le Havre. This company is by and large unaffected by the boycott.

It had sales of US\$25bn and a net profit of US\$1.5bn in 1980. Foreign deals alone amounted to US\$4.3bn that year, but only a tiny percentage was accounted for by the Soviet Union.

The situation at Caterpillar is similar. It was supposed to have supplied the Soviet Union with pipe-laying machinery and has also been hit by the embargo. But its trade with the Soviet Union amounts to barely one per cent of sales.

There is another reason why many firms are not keen on East bloc trade: the well-founded suspicion that Moscow buys only single items and then copies them.

For the past two years there has been an American embargo on computer shipments to the Soviet Union. The embargo applies not only to US computers but also to all Western computers made with American components produced under licence.

No European manufacturer can manage without these components. The embargo has caused considerable difficulties for the Soviet Union.

There are some 1,700 Western computer installations in the USSR, 15 major systems — among them a Burroughs installation in the Oil Ministry and an IBM data processing plant in the Kama lorry factory.

This relatively small number of Western installations is concentrated in key ministries and industries because their efficiency and capacity by far exceeds that of the 42,000 Russian-made computers (compared with 130,000 major and half a million smaller installations in the USA).

Western experts are certain that the unavailability of spare parts and lack of new shipments due to the embargo during the past two years are causing the Soviet Union problems.

Compared with its American counterpart, the Soviet computer industry is still in its infancy. It depends less on the innovative spirit of Soviet engineers and scientists than on their ability to copy.

The most commonly used Russian computer is a copy of the IBM 360 which found its way to the USSR in the late 1960s and has been produced there in a modified version since the mid-1970s.

The Soviets try to pretend that embargoes cannot hurt them, and Western businessmen support them in this ruse.

When the American embargo on computers created considerable problems for the Oskol steel and iron plant near Kursk last year (the plant was ordered from West Germany in the 1970s and is still unfinished), Berthold Beitz went to Russia and later said in an interview that the Soviet computer that had been installed at Oskol during the embargo was every bit as good as its Western counterparts. The fact is that Siemens experts who tested the Soviet computer found its performance lagging far behind Western electronic brains.

Though the Comecon bloc has shifted most of its micro-electronics and computer manufacture to the GDR as part of labour sharing (some 470,000 people are employed in this branch of industry in East Germany), the East is still at least 20 years behind the West in this field.

This is not surprising, considering that most sales personnel in Soviet shops still do their figuring with an abacus. They have not yet progressed to a cash register.

Industrial planning in the Soviet Union, as repeatedly stated by Brezhnev, places its emphasis on "economy and profitability of operation" which can only be achieved through automation — and that, in turn, requires Western help.

But it would be foolish to expect Oskol to change its basic attitude and to this that the prices of crude will tumble.

And even should this happen, the industrial countries would have to adopt special measures to ward it off.

After all, increased oil prices have had the beneficial effect of inducing consumers to cut back and be more thrifty with energy. They have also fueled the search for substitutes.

Lower prices would jeopardise both these benefits; the need to reduce dependence on dwindling Opec supplies would remain.

Most governments would probably like to introduce immediate countermeasures — for fiscal if for no other reasons.

But there is no need for it yet. The hastily summoned Opec conference shows that the cartel wants to remain in control of the flow of oil and dollars.

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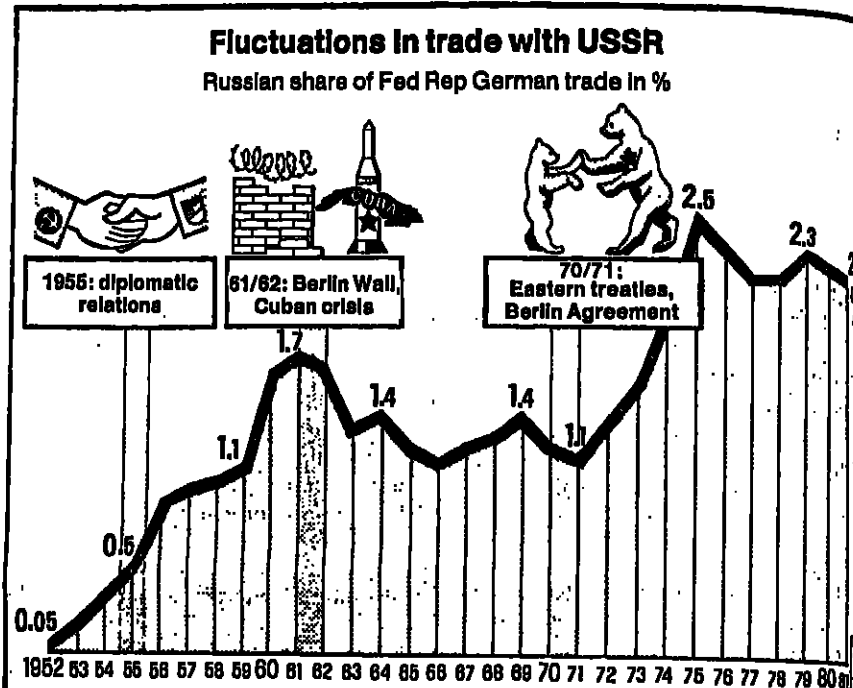
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DEVELOPMENT AID

MP says Bonn is trying to attach conditions

The government has been accused of watering down the principle of giving development aid without conditions.

A CDU Bundestag member, Heinz Günther Hüsche, says he has information that all departments at the Development Aid Ministry have been asked to approve financing only where it was certain that resulting orders would go to Germany.

This would turn development aid into export subsidies.

Herr Hüsche is the deputy chairman of the development aid committee in the Bundestag.

The principle of aid without strings was introduced by the late Chancellor Ludwig Erhard.

Development Aid Minister Rainer Offergeld says that Bonn policy is to continue to give aid without strings, except under particular circumstances.

He says that conditions are the same thing as protectionism, and the fight against protectionism must be more than just lip service.

Bonn must, says the Minister, abide by its own principles.

However, the Bonn government and the Bundestag make no bones about the fact that they would like to see more development aid money coming back to Germany as orders.

At the moment, about two thirds of the cash that goes to developing countries as a result of bilateral agreements flows back as export orders.

This can have a rapid effect in boosting employment.

If aid takes the form of goods it can safeguard jobs in export-intensive companies when the economy is flagging.

The government is taking a lot of time to establish a systematic relationship between development policy and employment policy.

Government departments have only recently decided what to do with the DM100m special development fund set aside for this purpose last September.

It took much tedious bargaining between the leaders of the coalition parties and the Bonn government before the money could be labelled as part of the government's job-creating measures.

In any event, the DM100m can now be used to enable German industry to close deals for pending development projects under extremely favourable conditions.

This was made possible when the Bonn Finance Ministry agreed to terms similar to those prevailing at the International Development Agency (IDA).

This means that projects can be financed from the fund for 50 years and at interest rates of 0.75 per cent. There would be no repayments of principal in the first ten years.

These extremely soft credits are to be mixed with export credits raised on capital markets.

This type of development aid is to mobilise as much capital market funds as possible for the financing of projects.

The Development Aid Ministry expects the special fund to help finance about DM250m worth of orders.

The developing countries concerned and the German suppliers will benefit from the fact that the average interest

rate for the overall financing of individual projects will be much cheaper.

This type of arrangement is permissible under the interest rate agreements with the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD).

The Development Aid Ministry has had experience with such mixed financing since 1977. This type of financing has so far generated orders worth a total of close to DM1.7bn for German industry.

Due to the special fund, there are now orders in the offing for a coal processing plant in Zimbabwe, a hydroelectric power station in Morocco, electrical components for a lignite power station and locomotives for Thailand plus locomotives and mining equipment for Indonesia.

The fund is also expected to promote deals for small freighters and trawlers, telecommunications equipment and various power station components. This would also result in follow-up orders.

The DM100m can swiftly be converted into export orders because the envisaged projects can be realised immediately.

If this type of financing is also used for the purchase of goods (which generates instant employment) it should also be possible to conclude deals for the shipment of agricultural machinery (especially tractors and smaller processing machines), construction machinery and lorries for civilian use.

When they began their talks on a job-creating programme, the negotiators of the two government parties were urged to boost the fund for mixed financing — particularly by the development experts of the two parties, Uwe Holtz (SPD) and Manfred Vohrer (FDP).

Since a job-creation programme was unavoidable, it was deemed that additional project-tied funds that would promote both development and employment objectives would not be the worst way of spending money.

Nobody can be annoyed by the fact that government development aid is to some extent self-serving.

When Hans-Jürgen Wischniewski, during his short period of office as Development Aid Minister from 1966 to 1986, freely said that development aid could also serve our own interests, many

of those deeply committed to development aid were upset.

But now it is one of the development policy principles in Bonn that there is nothing wrong with development aid that also promotes German exports and hence employment.

Even so, the Bonn government could not see its way in early February to set aside additional funds for mixed financing.

This is not only due to the money shortage in Bonn but also to the fact that a fairly large special fund would not quite have fitted in the framework of an employment programme with the somewhat high-salutin' name of "Common Initiative for Work, Growth and Stability".

According to the Cabinet, this programme is intended as an employment strategy extending over several years and aimed at promoting investment and safeguarding jobs would amount to an only temporary promotion of exports and would not improve the competitiveness of German business, the argument goes.

Even though the programme would provide temporary relief at best, some development policy makers hold that there should still have been room for a few extra millions to generate employment.

But, from a development policy vantage point, it was right not to enlarge the special fund.

The combination of development and employment policy must not be overtaxed. Up to now, Bonn has rightly upheld the principle that development aid should not depend on the purchase of German goods.

Strings are common practice among other donors of development aid. Thus, for instance, half of the payments made by the United States carry this condition. In France, it is 45 per cent, in Britain 40 per cent and in Japan 30 per cent versus only 15 to 16 per cent in the Federal Republic of Germany.

But the Bonn government and the Bundestag budget committee would like to see more of the money paid for development aid being recycled in the form of orders.

The budget committee now insists that more and more funds be allocated with employment in Germany in mind.

Herr Offergeld has so far stuck to the official formulation to the effect that the Bonn government would welcome it "if the meaningful use of development aid were to coincide with German economic interests".

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Rainer Offergeld...humanities must play bigger role. (Photo: Sven Simon)

R&D 'crucial to Third World'

The gap between North and South is nowhere greater than in research and development.

United Nations statistics show that 95 per cent of R and D money is spent in the industrially developed countries.

Bonn Development Aid Minister Rainer Offergeld considers the development of scientific and technical capabilities the most important task of development policy.

In a lecture at Berlin's Technical University, he stressed that the export of know-how and technology from the industrial to the Third World was not enough because it only created new dependence.

A new scientific infrastructure should be created.

The Bonn government now promotes more than 100 bilateral university projects with emphasis on engineering, the sciences, agronomy and veterinary medicine, he said.

More than ever before, development policy needs the support and advice of research because the complex problems of the Third World call for complex solutions.

The development of technologies suitable for the individual countries, energy and food production, are the most important areas.

Pointing to the environment report Global 2000, Offergeld touched on a pivotal point of research that had so far been out of the limelight: Research into the interaction of such factors as population, resources, environment and development. Socio-cultural aspects play a major role in this context, he said.

The upheaval in Iran shows the conflict potential resulting from the clash of traditional values, the Minister said.

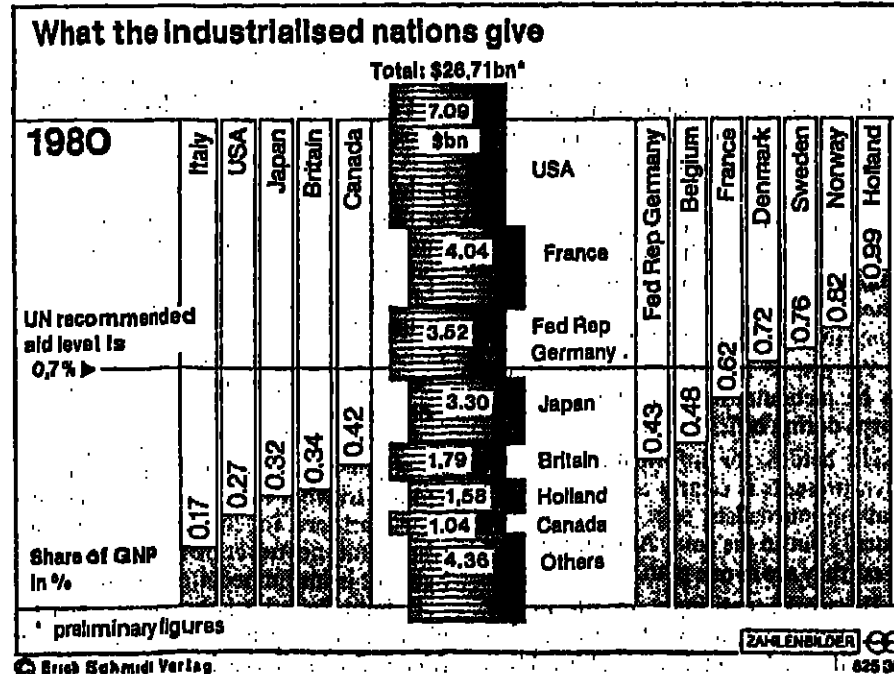
He pointed to the fact that every development helper in the Third World was faced with these problems.

It is therefore necessary thoroughly to examine the interaction of these factors and hence the humanities must play a bigger role in development policy.

He said that cooperation was essential between engineers, scientists and scholars in the field of humanities.

The Minister urged the universities to engage in more research on developing countries, to intensify their cooperation with foreign universities and to help foreign students, through re-integration programmes after their return home.

Rolf Brockschmidt
(Der Tagespiegel, 6 February 1982)



■ PROFILE

Government spokesman picks his words carefully

Kurt Becker, chief government spokesman in Bonn, is not a man to favour grand gestures. He prefers the minor key, even at major Press conferences.

His face often betrays no emotion for what seems like ages. He is attentive, quiet. But suddenly he will grin and laugh as wholeheartedly as he normally looks serious and pensive.

Yet his voice remains quiet and he avoids cadence and modulation. Before answering a question he takes a deep breath, rather like a fish gasping for breath.

He leans back a little and describes a wide arc with his eyes as though he were trying to take in the entire subject at issue.

Then only does Kurt Becker, 61, get down to his job, speaking on behalf of the Bonn government. And he is not given to glib phraseology.

After over a year in his job he is still very much the man he has been all his working life: a man who weighs his words, a quality journalist and an editor who has been known to spend more time sipping an article than it took the writer to dash it off.

This outlook is still part of his makeup: the honesty, the precision and the impatience with others who take less care.

Even in the most important part of his work, putting government policy across (or, as he puts it: "explaining what the Chancellor wants, what he is doing and what he doesn't want"), he prefers to be no more obliging towards others than he is towards himself.

He unhesitatingly corrects himself whenever he feels he has used a word that is not quite what he means. "The Chancellor is of the opinion," he will say, then adding: "that is to say, he is convinced that..."

For a man who is so careful about shades of meaning it was particularly galling to see a quote of his on Poland that was not exactly what he had wanted to say flashed around the world with serious repercussions.

He is critical of journalists who make a point of dealing out of context with what he has termed a theoretical issue or hypothesis.

He is likewise critical of the overriding interest shown by Bonn-watchers in what they prefer to see in terms of crisis and conflict.

Becker himself has always been more interested in spotlighting and outlining the overall situation. He prefers the overview.

So it is hardly surprising that he has made not only friends among his clientele as chief government spokesman, his fellow-journalists.

He has a hard time with a number of younger journalists activists and has decided no longer to provide background information at meetings of one of their groups because, he feels, they have not played fair with him.

But he will not hear a word said against journalists as a whole, having served himself under a truly great journalist, Paul Sethe, whom he sees as having set standards of reporting independence, honest analysis and accurate description.

Sethe was for Becker a friend and fa-

ther figure from whom he adopted a dislike of trifling nonsense, albeit without denying that journalism must entertain the reader.

Maybe another reason for Becker's serious approach to the profession is that he sees writing as a "particularly exacting form of reflection."

This might lead one to imagine that he had always dreamt of going in for journalism, but in fact he entered it more by coincidence than by design.

It was in Hamburg in 1946 that he met a British control officer attached to *Die Welt*, the daily newspaper of the British military government.

Becker was an export salesman by trade and did some translation work under pressure for the British. He so impressed the control officer that he was taken on immediately as an interpreter.

He already had qualities that were to stand him in good stead as a journalist, he recalls. He was tremendously interested in politics and was capable of seeing things clearly.

Before long he was on the staff of the home news desk at *Die Welt*, where he worked until the 60s, when Axel Springer, who had taken it over from the British in 1953, became a convert to cold war politics.

This led to the exodus of many journalists from *Die Welt*. Becker moved to *Die Zeit*, also in Hamburg but a weekly. Then, from 1971 to 1975, he was editor of *Kölnischer Stadt-Anzeiger* in Cologne.

He returned to Hamburg as assistant editor of *Die Zeit*, which he left only at the behest of Chancellor Schmidt in Bonn, who is also a Hamburg man.

His career has been a straightforward one, not meteoric but consistent, and characterised by personal integrity. So he is not a man to go in for acrobatics at his time of life.

Older journalists do not expect him to do so. He plies them with what they want: not sensation but thorough information, well-founded interpretation and analytical light shed on the facts.

As government spokesman his analytical faculty is no less keen than it was in his days as a journalist. The only difference is that he now has more inside information at his disposal.

At a working lunch with Bonn correspondents representing all the media he will, for instance, spend nearly two hours dissecting the day's politics.

This, he says, is our viewpoint. The Americans have an interest there. That is how the Polish situation must be seen. And there is only this one point where the Russians are really vulnerable.

Then he goes on to say, neither in a schoolmasterly nor in an in any way assumed manner: "You must draw distinctions; if you fail to do so you will never come to clear conclusions."

Yet just as he dissects world affairs, so he meticulously cares for the Press corps during official visits.

He battles for information himself, then presents it clearly arranged to the waiting journalists, eager for facts and usually out in the cold. At moments like these they are as one man.

He works untiringly to fill in the facts, being only too well aware of what it is like to be out there waiting for a

story. He has even been known to pace up and down the aircraft aisle in the middle of the night to make sure that all was well while the Press corps got a few hours' rest. These are times when he is in his element — and theirs. Yet he is always the Chancellor's man too, although not in the same way as his predecessor, Klaus Bölling. Herr Bölling used to juggle



I do believe I've forgotten my notebook... Journalist and adeptly with both chief government spokesman Kurt Becker with Chancellor Schmidt.

tion as he put government policy across or sensed feelings and trends and relayed them to the Chancellor.

Klaus Bölling was a kind of artistic accompaniment to a much more level-headed Helmut Schmidt. Kurt Becker, on the other hand, reinforces the Chancellor, is his alter ego.

Maybe that was why Herr Schmidt decided on Becker, an outsider, as government spokesman at a difficult time, calling him to Bonn to restore order.

Both men are Hamburg-born, both own to being guided by common sense, both served as officers in the Second World War. They both later showed a special interest in international security matters.

Besides, journalist Becker soon took to politician Schmidt. "We are both from Hamburg and take a similar view of problems," he says.

Becker early admired Schmidt's political acumen and staying-power. Nearly 20 years ago, or so he says, he felt sure Schmidt would become Chancellor one day.

Writing about Helmut Schmidt's 1969 *Strategie des Gleichgewichts* (Strategy of the Balance of Power), Becker said it was the most important current contribution to political writing penned by a German politician.

By the same token he holds the Chancellor in high personal esteem and feels sure he knows not only what Herr Schmidt wants but also how he would probably feel about any given subject.

Another point they share is a feeling for hierarchy and power. Becker was never an easy-going boss but he always enjoyed being in charge.

At some time in his life, he feels, a man must be completely independent and in a position to take decisions of his own, otherwise he will miss out on something essential.

That was why he took on the assignment of editor at *Kölnischer Stadt-Anzeiger*. Just for once in his life he wanted to be the man in charge.

Is he, perhaps, too much the Chancellor's man? Does the government, a coalition government, not take too back-seat a role in the way he puts information across?

It is an obvious point and Kurt Becker neatly skirts it, saying: "I am spokesman for the government, in which the Chancellor naturally occupies a key position."

He says he bears the overall government position in mind and pays due attention to what the Free Democrats, junior partners in the Bonn coalition, want. But he never forgets that Herr Schmidt is his immediate superior.

Helmut Schmidt is happy to refer to his chief government spokesman as a friend. So intellectual and institutional

affinities are accompanied by close personal ties. Kurt Becker is not just the Chancellor's message boy; he is also an adviser. Like the Chancellor, he is a man of the political centre and a mediator.

That makes life difficult for him: a man where Helmut Schmidt has trouble, such as with factions within the SPD and with the Social Democratic parliamentary party.

Becker is not a paid-up member any political party, which makes tough job even tougher.

Day by day he has to reconcile the irreconcilable, both to ply the Press with facts and to keep them at bay, but keep confidential information confidential and to publicise information that government wants to be publicised.

He has to take the can for the Chancellor, for the coalition Cabinet and the obstreperous parliamentary party that support it.

His task is to advocate and propound Social Democratic policies, especially as his deputy, Lothar Rühl, is not to be a Genscher man, a man of Free Democratic leader Hans Dietrich Genscher.

With so much crossfire more discretion is needed than such a strategic person as Kurt Becker can afford, or, arguably, is willing to provide.

He knows he is bound to take his punishment in his present job, so he is quite happy to take it, just as he is working 16 hours a day at the Press and Information Office.

His work includes administrative duties at the Press Office, which has payroll of nearly 800 and is more ministry than an office.

He has no regrets about having wave goodbye to private life. It is, he says, a job that does not allow you to things by halves; it demands a percent devotion to duty.

He feels he is amply rewarded for his troubles. He feels electrified by the fact that after 30 years in journalism he now look at public affairs from the other side of the fence, as it were, being politics from the inside.

He is fascinated by being able to see insights few are privileged to see, can see for himself events in domestic and world affairs that used to be closed to him.

All this and proximity to the Chancellor give him "incredible" job satisfaction.

If he had stayed in Hamburg he would have been journalism as usual. In Bonn is, he feels, the crowning achievement and climax of a working life. He is unconcerned about what may follow.

Sibylle Krause-Burg (Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 13 February 1982)

■ AEROSPACE

Airbus rolls out new jet, proves sceptics wrong



Three years ago the aviation world was sceptical about the Airbus group's claim that the first A310, the new short-haul model, would be flying by April 1982 at the latest.

But it was wrong. Right on schedule a new hangar is to open at Blagnac airport, Toulouse, and out will roll the little brother of the A300 B Airbus.

It is 44.66 metres (146ft 6in) long and 15.8 metres (51ft 10in) tall. It seats 282 passengers and will fly at up to 890 kilometres an hour, or 480 knots.

The prototype will carry the Lufthansa livery on one side and the Swissair livery on the other, as a gesture by the manufacturers to the airlines that have backed the newcomer from the start.

Had it not been for their encouragement the new wide-body jet, production of which will be shared between

France, Germany and Spain, would have been much slower to get going.

As it is, even though the prototype will not be airborne for trials until the end of March and the A310 will cost roughly DM90m, 178 orders have already been placed for what is said will be the most up-to-date short- and medium-haul jet airliner in the world.

Continued from page 7

ment aid should depend on purchases in Germany has acquired a different quality because of the growing unemployment.

Development aid must also be of a quality that can be approved by works councils and trade unions.

They must at least be certain that German workers will have no disadvantages due to the manner in which industrial countries handle their development aid.

International cooperation in the field of Third World aid must be fair, says Offergeld.

The following case should not be allowed to happen again: France and Canada some years ago provided aid to Cameroon to develop the railway system. The aid was tied to purchases from the two countries of locomotives and tracks. The track beds, however, were paid for with German aid.

As Offergeld sees it, fair competition must be ensured in two ways: German suppliers must stand a good chance of closing the relevant deal, and aid recipients should be in a position to get the best possible buy.

As a result, Bonn will continue to provide aid without strings attached, except under particular circumstances. Many companies, especially those supplying plant and machinery, would be delighted if the developing countries were forced to spend as large a portion of German aid as possible to buy their goods.

But it would be better if the government did not go overboard with such strings and if it urged other nations to do the same.

Klaus Broichhausen (Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 13 February 1982)

European airlines are by no means alone in buying the smaller version of the Airbus, which is scheduled to make its maiden flight early next year.

Saudi Arabia, Nigeria, Canada and Libya are also keen to convert to the A310.

It is about seven metres, or 22ft, shorter than the A300 Airbus but chock full of the latest technological refinements.

The cockpit instrumentation is heavily digitalised to make the flight engineer superfluous. Built-in computers will keep an electronic eye on flight performance and immediately draw attention to errors and indicate corrections.

They will also flash meteorological charts on to a monitor screen with changes indicated in colour and make sure that the plane always automatically takes the most economic route.

The wing design is entirely new, giving more uplift than conventional wings. Together with more economic engines and weight savings the new Airbus will use less fuel than its competitors.

Its fuel consumption is said to be 15 per cent lower than that of the DC-9-32 and 32 per cent lower than that of the DC-8-62.

The British, French and Germans first met for talks on the Airbus in 1965/66, and a year later the go-ahead was given for the three-cornered project.

The Germans established an Airbus GmbH with aircraft manufacturers Messerschmitt-Bölkow-Blohm (MBB) and Vereinigte Flugtechnische Werke (VFW) among its partners.

Until 1968 the Airbus was envisaged as seating 300 passengers, which is why the version now flying is known as the A300. But British Airways wanted a 250-seater, so a new model, the A300 B, was planned.

Shortly afterwards Britain abandoned the idea altogether because it did not feel it could make a profit, but France and Germany were more sanguine. They signed the Airbus treaty in 1969.

The Airbus went on to fare better than previous Franco-German joint projects. All major deadlines were met



Right on schedule... the A310.

(Photo: VFW)

and costs kept to within reasonable limits.

The roll-out, first flight (in 1972), test flights and licensing of the A300 B gave no problems, and more than 40 air-lines all over the world have either ordered or taken out options on 327 Airbus.

This figure refers to the B2, B4-200 and B4-600 models, designed to seat between 269 and 285 passengers and cover a range of between 2,950 and 5,750km (1,593 and 3,105 nautical miles).

Satisfied customers include one US airline.

After much argument among Whitehall, Rolls Royce (who were cooperating with Boeing) and British Airways (who were buying Boeing 737s and 757s), Britain decided in 1979 to rejoin the Airbus project.

With the 310 in mind it bought a 20-per-cent stake in the venture, in which France and Germany each held 37.9 and Spain 4.2 per cent.

The Airbus is now rated the most successful commercial jet ever built in Europe. Unit sales are way ahead of those of the French Caravelle, the British BAC One-Eleven or VC 10 and the Dutch Fokker F28.

By 1984 the Airbus consortium hopes to have supplied 360 A300 B or A310 Airbus, by which time it will have repaid Bonn government loans totalling roughly DM1.6bn.

But development costs will not be fully recouped until 800 Airbus have been sold, and that does not include the cost of developing the A320, seating 150 to 180 and for a range of between 3,500 and 5,300km, the TA 9, seating up to 350 and for a range of between 2,225 and 5,560km, and the TA 11, seating up to 230 and for a range of at least 9,270km, or 5,000 miles.

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Space Agency's lightweight tests

Micro-gravity, or scientific research in conditions verging on weightlessness, is the latest topic to interest Esa, the European Space Agency.

Projects come under three main headings, two of which are experiments to be carried out on board Spacelab, the European research satellite.

These two are a biology programme in which the effect of reduced gravity on living organisms is to be probed and a programme of material tests.

As part of the latter the behaviour of liquids, the growth of crystals and that of metallurgical systems are to be studied under conditions of micro-gravity.

The biology programme will use a biorack, an experiment unit shared by several research projects, for cellular and molecular biology research.

The biorack will form part of equipment on board Spacelab.

Another shared unit will be used for trials of liquids. The hydrodynamics of melting zones will, for instance, be tested in outer space.

Spacelab scientists will play an active part in experiments with these modules. They will maintain direct radio contact with research scientists on earth, so conditions can be modified as required while the experiment is in progress.

The third field of micro-gravitational research is high-altitude projects. Results so far achieved by Sweden and the Federal Republic of Germany warrant further experiments with high-altitude probes, Esa says.

(Die Welt, 30 January 1982)

■ THE ENVIRONMENT

Reactor cost shock amid accusations of secrecy

Bonn is said to have kept in wraps for nearly two years a report forecasting further delay and an enormous increase in the cost of the fast breeder reactor project at Kalkar on the Rhine.

The claim is made in the latest issue of *Energie-Report*, a Bonn fortnightly review of coal, oil, gas and atomic energy that seems to have first-rate contacts in the corridors of power.

The report is said to have been commissioned by the Bonn Research Ministry from the Karlsruhe nuclear research centre and submitted to the Ministry in 1980.

It reckoned the controversial reactor on the Rhine near the Dutch border would not be completed before 1990 and might cost as much as DM10bn.

The report is said to have since been kept strictly secret in Bonn and its findings not even disclosed to the Bundestag, which has several times debated whether or not to carry on footing the bill.

Disclosure of its findings has hit the power industry and the Ministries in Bonn and Düsseldorf like a bombshell.

The Karlsruhe report exceeds by far the worst fears voiced about the construction delay and spiralling costs of the project. When work began at Kalkar in 1973 the reactor was expected to cost DM1.5bn to DM2bn.

Late last summer it was officially admitted that the cost would be at least DM5bn and the power station would not be completed until 1985 (it was originally due for completion in 1979).

These figures caused consternation in Bonn and it took all Chancellor Schmidt's personal authority to ensure that the project was not shelved.

By last October, when the Bundestag debated the subject, many experts doubted whether the fast breeder reactor was still worth so much trouble and expense.

But why were the findings of the 1980 report withheld from the Bundestag? This is a question that remains unanswered, although the prompt official argument is that they no longer apply.

Everything is now under control, Ministry officials and industrial spokesmen hasten to reassure all and sundry.

A major reason for delay has been the continual design changes and safety amendments. Planning permission for the fourth stage of construction was expected by the end of 1980 but not given until last October.

Permission for the fifth section was

due at the end of last year but is not expected to be given until this summer at the earliest, according to a North Rhine-Westphalian Economic Affairs Ministry spokesman in Düsseldorf.

Stage Four included reactor machinery, such as measurement and control equipment. Stage Five is the one that matters; it includes the reactor tank, the reactor safety systems and the emergency power system.

Substantial changes is the term that is likely to cause trouble. If there are substantial changes the plans have to be published, which usually prompts heated debate.

What is substantial? Views differ. The only point on which everyone is agreed is that there have been changes to the original plans.

The Constitutional Court defined the term substantial amendments in a 1980 ruling on the proposed Mülheim nuclear power station.

But are the Kalkar changes substantial by this definition? The Ministry is undecided. Its spokesman not only preferred not to comment; he frankly admitted that no-one knew.

The Minister, Rolf Jochimsen, has for more than a year been trying to compile a list of changes proposed to make an assessment easier.

Asked whether this list had at least been compiled, the Ministry spokesman said: "Sorry, I must pass on that question too."

The situation is said by the Bonn magazine to be much the same at the Research Ministry in Bonn. It quoted an insider on the subject:

"What happens at the Research Ministry in costing is that everyone knows it is a door behind which something dreadful lurks, so no-one wants to be the first to open it."

"Everyone who might conceivably be entrusted with the task sees to it that they have always got some other major project to deal with."

The trouble with the Kalkar fast breeder, the Bonn magazine says, is a lack of planning safety at virtually all stages of the project.

This is attributed to the largely uncoordinated and escalating demands made by experts and planning authorities.

The fast breeder, it is argued, is a major project for which the plans are constantly amended because so many people are entitled to amend them.

That, says *Energie-Report*, is not how to set about a billion deutsche-mark project and hope to bring it to a successful conclusion. "We do not propose to discuss what might have been a more farsighted energy policy," the magazine concludes. "It is not for us to say where the billions might have been more sensibly invested than in the ancient nuclear monument at Kalkar. But why, we wonder, have we backed a nuclear horse we seem unable to ride? That is a profile in courage that may be fit in the rodeo ring, but it is out of place in energy policy."

Hasso Ziegler
(Stuttgarter Zeitung,
2 February 1982)



A helping hand

Workers at the Jülich nuclear research centre making tests to discover the long term effects of various forms of environmental pollution on human organs.

Three nuclear power stations get the go-ahead

It comes as some surprise to see Bonn Interior Minister Gerhart Baum, who is usually pigeonholed as an environmentalist, giving the go-ahead for three new nuclear power stations.

"They are to be standardised in design, hence in planning procedure and permission, and built near Munich on the Isar, near Mannheim on the Rhine and near Lingen on the Ems."

As Bonn Interior Minister Herr Baum's brief is merely environmental protection, whereas the actual go-ahead can only be given by the Land Interior Ministers in Bavaria, Hesse and Lower Saxony respectively.

Herr Baum can merely notify them that he has no reservation on reactor safety, radiation safeguards and nuclear waste disposal. This he has done.

There was no prevarication by Herr Baum in the 11 February Bundestag debate either, which is a great step forward. The Bonn Interior Ministry has consistently advanced one reason after another why planning permission would be better deferred. The present go-ahead is the first for four-and-a-half years.

There are many reasons why nuclear power stations are needed to generate electricity. They ease the cost burden and reduce the reliance of the industrialised countries on oil, for instance.

They ease the pressure on finite reserves of fossil fuels such as coal, oil and gas, and nuclear power costs less to generate too.

This has all been known for some time, and despite Three Mile Island and the Harrisburg reactor mishap there was no longer any fundamental reservation against atomic energy to generate electricity power.

Piped heating and solar power are well and good, but industrialised countries know they cannot hope to power demand without atomic energy.

Nuclear waste disposal is the problem. Spent fuel rods need prompt and will sooner or later need to be junked.

Salt deposits near Gorleben on the border between the Federal Republic of Germany and the GDR are still being probed as a final resting place for radioactive waste.

Instead of a central nuclear fuel reprocessing facility the latest idea is to set several intermediate storage facilities and reprocessing plants in the various Länder.

Sites under consideration include Ahaus near the Dutch border, Schöndorf in Bavaria and Frankenberg in Hesse.

Even if the pace of atomic energy development is slowed down most of the estimated 9,500 tonnes of spent fuel will still need final storage by the end of the century and a final decision has not been reached on their final resting place.

Nuclear waste disposal is a government responsibility, and Bonn and the Länder are both on the spot.

So up to a point both are to blame for the delay that has already cost so much time and money, and that means all political parties share the blame.

Is Gerhart Baum's go-ahead really a breakthrough? We will not know for sure until court appeals against location and operation have been dealt with. The last word has not yet been spoken.

Hans Overberg
(Rheinische Post, 12 February 1982)

China link for experts in miners' lung disease

At a ceremony held to mark the institute's 20th anniversary its director, Professor Hans-Werner Schlipkötter outlined plans for an exchange with China.

The institute has a payroll of 209 and an annual budget of DM15.7m. The Chinese, he said, have been working for 12 years with a Düsseldorf drug used in silicosis treatment.

This drug, which is still used both to

prevent and to cure the lung disease, made the institute famous overnight.

Professor Schlipkötter recalled that measurements of atmospheric dust had been taken in Düsseldorf and Bochum since 1962. Carcinogenic hydrocarbons had also been identified in the lung tissue of silicosis patients.

dpa

(Nordwest Zeitung, 4 February 1982)

■ THE ARTS

Government joins Trust and thereby steps into new field of cooperation

The government and the arts, always an inexhaustible, tricky and engrossing topic, is back in the news now the Bonn government has decided to join the board of the Ludwig Foundation in Cologne.

Businessman Peter Ludwig has built up one of the country's major art collections. Made over to a foundation, it naturally saves him tax and estate duties.

Bonn Interior Minister Gerhart Baum is the man largely responsible for the government's decision to join forces with a private patron of the arts.

He sees collaboration between Bonn, Cologne and North Rhine-Westphalia on the one hand and a private art collector on the other as an arts policy signal.

First, it signifies the possibility of cordial and trustful cooperation between local authorities, the Länder and the Federal government in the arts.

Second, it shows how, at a time when funds are limited, the state can and must make use of private commitment and patronage.

In an unpublished Interior Ministry memorandum on the Ludwig Foundation this second point is elevated to the status of a principle of political philosophy.

"In the arts in particular," it notes, "the state must only lend a hand when and where private financial power is no longer sufficient."

Why in the arts in particular? Are there not constant calls for public subsidies in the arts? Do not the arts have the most marked misgivings, ideological misgivings, about capitalist patronage?

Is it not consistently argued that only local or central government patronage can ensure the independence of the arts?

The Ludwig Foundation debate, at times very emotional, has been mostly concerned with misgivings and reservations of this kind.

Herr Ludwig is a businessman with a personality that is very much his own and he lends himself readily to anti-capitalist tales about how the freedom of the arts is in jeopardy.

Is there not some truth in the claim by Werner Schmalenbach of the Landsgalerie in Düsseldorf that the Ludwig Foundation runs the risk of concentrating too much power over arts policy in too few hands?

Ought government and local authority patronage of the arts to be so closely associated with the interests of an individual, especially when the person in question sees art partly as an investment?

Viewed in this light, Herr Baum's reference to the desirability of collaboration with a private patron is a striking new departure.

There can be no denying that it comes at a convenient time. Public money is no longer available and few people would care at present to suggest an alternative.

The alternative to this instance of a mixture of public and private commitment would appear to be a government-only arts policy as pure as the driven snow of the kind advocated by the French Socialists.

But is Herr Baum's move not, perhaps, motivated mainly by shortage of funds and might it not be factually unsound? That depends on the small print, which has so far been no more than broadly outlined.

Originally Herr Ludwig was intended not only to chair the board of the foundation but also to have the casting vote. This idea was leaked prematurely, criticised and dropped.

Now, as Herr Baum puts it, no-one will predominate on the board, which is why critics of an impermissible combination of public and private interests are entirely mistaken.

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It is a small point but a crucial one. The Ludwig Foundation will place at the public disposal, as Bonn puts it, what is probably the most important private art collection in Europe.

By relinquishing control over his collection Herr Ludwig, who will shortly no longer have the last word on it, is about to agree to a lasting partial nationalisation via the board of his foundation.

That is indeed an arts policy signal, and this being so, it would be pettifogging to harp on the tax and insurance savings from which Herr Ludwig stands to benefit.

The fact is that they are of minor importance in comparison with the collection over which he is about to relinquish control.

A more difficult argument to counter is made by Ludwig Foundation critics who are opposed as a matter of principle to local authorities and Länder allowing their responsibility for the arts to lapse.

Constitutional guarantees of local authority and Land responsibility for the arts must be strictly upheld, they argue.

Yet this argument stands in clear contrast to the established practice of major arts festivals, such as Bayreuth or the Cologne International drama season, being financed by a variety of sources.

It is far from impossible that the Ludwig Foundation, assuming Herr and Frau Ludwig carry on keenly collecting and astutely buying, might in time run smaller galleries and museums with less cash out of the market.

With such a major collection of one's own it will be that much easier to per-

suade foreign museums to loan works of art for major exhibitions — to the detriment of smaller museums.

It would also be easier to influence the buying and selling policies of other museums and countries that were keen to be loaned exhibits by the Ludwig Foundation.

These national and international ramifications are the reason why the *Länder* ought not to retain sole overall responsibility for institutions such as the Ludwig Foundation.

What the Ludwig Foundation does is not just a matter for Cologne or North Rhine-Westphalia to decide.

Bonn is contradictory on this point. On the one hand it plays down and even denies the concentration of power to which critics object.

On the other, it is these far-reaching prospects that are felt to make it essential for the central government to take a hand in the affairs of the foundation.

Matthias Schreiber
(Kölnischer Stadt-Anzeiger, 12 February 1982)

Crucial role of private funds

Government policy on the arts cannot in the long run make do without private patronage, it was largely agreed at a conference on Art and Industry held by the Mainz Academy of Science and Literature.

Professor Dieter Honisch, head of the Nationalgalerie in West Berlin, said many public museums would not be able to maintain their high standards in new acquisitions were it not for private funds.

Private initiative, he said, must be seen as a stimulus to the state. The relationship between public and private funds in museums' budgets for buying new exhibits ensured that arts policy was not laid down entirely by the state.

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 11 February 1982)

University bestows traditional swift kick on Heinrich Heine

Düsseldorf University has again ruled against being named after the city's famous son Heinrich Heine. It was a democratic decision but did scant credit to either Düsseldorf or its university or the academic world in Germany as a whole.

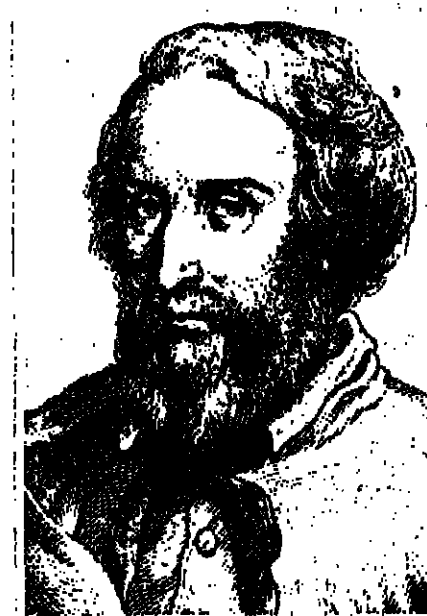
Düsseldorf's three faculties, medicine, science and the arts, met in convocation and decided by a narrow majority of 44 to 41 against being called the Heinrich Heine University.

All political parties were in favour of the idea, yet Germany, this time in the shape of Düsseldorf University students and staff, has again refused to give the 19th century Romantic poet and critic of Germany what ought long to have been his due.

The Düsseldorf decision defies a common sense explanation but is only too well in keeping with the treatment Heine has been given in his own country for the past century and a half.

In the 19th century his books were banned in Göttingen, where he took his PhD, for lampooning the city and the university.

In 1933 his books were burned by the Nazis. In the Federal Republic of Germany too, despite its claims to be the best-ever state on German soil, Heine has a hard time of it.



Heinrich Heine still getting a hard time.

There always seem to be hysterical confrontations whenever a school or university is to be named after the Loreley poet or the Harzreise travelogue writer.

Germans have always been keen to name streets and just about everything that does not move after someone or

other, and this is a habit one may well criticise.

But Goethe, or even Mörike, would never be given such a rough treatment as Heine, the Jew and critic of his country. And this treatment is more than coincidence.

It can only be a trauma extending to irrational depths no-one is keen to plumb. As for Düsseldorf's decision, could it be a case of academics getting their own back on a writer who, although only a poet, saw and portrayed his times more cogently and tellingly than German university professors have ever been able?

No indeed! But reasons for the ruling are not available. The vote was taken behind closed doors.

The vice-chancellor of Düsseldorf University has come up with a threadbare explanation, a justification that verges on cynicism.

The decision, he says, was very much in keeping with Heine himself: inconvenient and anything but opportunistic. The Düsseldorf convocation is progressive, we are given to understand.

This is because it is not misled by unqualified and emotional arguments put forward by supporters of Heine, who himself would never have dreamt of allowing himself to be taken in by such public relations work. And so on.

Maybe it is just as well. Düsseldorf University as it stands has demonstrated in free self-determination that it doesn't deserve to bear Heinrich Heine's name.

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 12 February 1982)

■ THE ARTS

New Music comes of age, but it still has esoteric connotations

The New Music has come of age: most of its festivals started in the late 1950s.

The most important of them in northern Germany, Hanover's New Music Days, has just celebrated its 24th anniversary.

The fathers of this music and its festivals, the *Sturm und Drang* musicians of the day, now seem staid and yet nobody can say that the New Music as a whole is an established art form.

New Music is a term that annoys the public at large and it still carries the aura of a music for insiders only.

And the fact that the aficionados of this type of music keep reminding us that Bach, Haydn, Beethoven and Chopin also started out within a small circle of insiders is of little help.

The Hanover festival has therefore tried to present not only experiments but also a "repertory" of modern music in general, including Schönberg's *Pierrot Lunaire* and Boulez's *Marteau sans Maîtres* cornerstones.

This year's festival had in its programme orchestral works by Karl Amadeus Hartmann, Goffredo Petrassi and Alban Berg.

The organisers are, apart from young music lovers, the North German Radio Network, Radio Bremen, the Academy of Music and Theatre, the Lower Saxony State Opera and the *Theatre am Aegi*.

It was inevitable for this wide range of



organisers to come under criticism. Detractors argue that this can never lead to a uniform concept. The best it can provide is a parallelism of forces.

But the wide variety of genres and media seems no bad recipe for success.

It is this very variety, which this year included students' chamber concerts, a composers' workshop, an opera, an organ concerto, electronic music and ballet, that has prevented the festival from becoming tiring, making it both tolerable and profitable.

The composers were out to find borderline forms of avant garde, and they came up with paydirt: Werner Heider, 52, whose original musical home was jazz, went full circle with the improvisations of his workshop "My Piano and I" (piano and composer as incalculable partners). In the most fortuitous moments of his composition he was back to jazz.

Some of the roots of Hans Ulrich Engelmann (whose *Sinfonia da Camera* opus 46 was premiered under the baton of Klaus Bernbacher) also lie in entertainment music. The piece makes an attempt to revert to the vitalism of the 1930s and to Igor Stravinsky. Stravinsky's octet, which he composed in 1923

and reworked in 1952 was in evidence in *Sinfonia da Camera*.

How topical are the 1930s today? The question arose with the guest performance of the Hildesheim City Theatre which presented the ballet *Ciclos* by Fernando Cortizo to music by Serge Weber.

The stylistic root here is the expressionist dance of the Palucca School. The theme of this dance composition, rebellion and repression at this most brutal, came close to the atmosphere of the *Blut und Boden* era though it was meant to be more topical.

Originally, the idea was probably to associate the work with Chile but the Polish events encroached on the more typical focal point.

It happens more and more often that new music reverts to itself. There is the utopian legacy of the 1960s still to be mastered and its experiments to be put into valid forms of expression.

Mainz composer Volker David Kirchner, 40, presented a brilliant piece of orchestration with his opera *Das Kalte Herz* based on a fairytale by Wilhelm Hauff and performed by Lower Saxony's State Opera conducted by Knut Mahleke.

Jazzman extraordinary Kurt Edelhagen dies at 61

Kurt Edelhagen, composer, arranger, band leader and instrumentalist, has died of cancer, aged 61.

Memento mori — think of death — was certainly not the leitmotif of his *Weltanschauung*. He was more enamoured of the happy-go-lucky major key of everyday life.

Kurt Edelhagen's All-Star Band was the most famous jazz ensemble of the 1950s and early 1960s — and not only in Germany.

But this did not stop him from ignoring the borderlines within entertainment music — even then.

After his first swinging steps on the jazz scene, when he played before British and American soldiers (his first pay was a lettuce sandwich), came his long-lasting association with radio work, at that time Radio Stuttgart.

In 1948 he went to radio Hesse and later to the Nuremberg studio of the Bavarian network.

From 1952 to 1957 he was under contract to Radio Baden-Baden. It was during that time that his band achieved a major breakthrough with jazz lovers at the Donaueschingen Music Festival.

His premiere performance of Rolf Liebermann's "Concerto for Jazzband" was considered sensational at the time.

His career reached its climax at the Cologne radio station which he joined in 1957 as bandleader. This musical marriage lasted almost 20 years. When the contract ran out in 1976 the radio station did not renew it, ostensibly on grounds of cost.

The Edelhagen Band acted like a magnet for musicians. Young and the older, more experienced jazz musicians sought financial security with his band while continuing to freelance as combo musicians.

Some 20 years ago, jazz was absolute-

The direction by Heinz Lukas-Kurmann and the sets provided by Eugen Baumhöfner were somewhat opulent for Hauff's simple parable. Kirchner's mastery music.

The Hanover Radio Orchestra, conducted by Zdenek Macal, subsequently premiered the same composer's *Symphony*. The elements of Schumann, Mahler, Wagner, Brahms and Schoenberg point to an attempt to reconcile New Music with tradition.

Manfred Weiss also includes "Quintets" from Bach's chorale *Jesu meine Freude* in his *Alternanza per Organo*.

An imaginative piece of music presented by Dresden-born Jörg Böhmer, 39, in the form of his *Komposition für Orgel, Nr. 11: selig sind, die ihr Herzen sind, denn sie werden schauen*.

Herchet's garland-like *Komposition für Flöte solo* was also on the programme of a guest performance by the Dresden Wind Soloists who played works of composers of their home town, among them Wilfried Krätzschmar, Siegfried Köhler, Matthias Kleemann, Hans-Joachim Löhner and Rainer Kunad.

This exchange between the Hanover festival and the Dresden festival got off to a good start (Hanover have a New Music guest performance in Dresden last year), while music related with Hanover's twin city, Poznań, Poland, has not progressed beyond timid beginnings.

Detlef Göjen
(Rheinischer Merkur/Christlich
12 February)

■ MEDICINE

'World-wide safety fetish' hindering development of new drugs

Safety has become a fetish. It doesn't matter whether the issue is nuclear power stations or prescribed drugs. Lobbyists are demanding more and more laws to reduce even the most remote of risks.

As a result, drugs that have proved their value over decades are now suspected of doing more harm than good.

One example is the pain killer Novolgin, which is to be restricted because it sometimes causes damage to the blood.

Yet many of the drugs under fire were once regarded as miracle treatments for a wide range of illnesses.

On the face of it, it would seem that many of the drugs marketed today could be dispensed with.

In the Federal Republic of Germany, 120,000 medicines are on the market. Half contain drugs produced by chemical companies.

But 93 per cent of sales are accounted for by just 2,000 medicines.

The World Health Organisation says that 200 medicines are enough.

General practitioners in industrially developed countries prescribe far fewer than this.

Despite the variety of drug-based medicines, there is not one for each specific illness.

In fact, they can be used in only about one third of illnesses.

The development of new drugs is being hampered by a rising world-wide demand for safety.

Development costs can be as high as DM100m. Also, the long testing and registration periods shorten the validity of protection through a patent and can thus lead to financial losses.

It is becoming increasingly uncertain whether the authorities with their ever-growing red tape will admit a new drug to the market at all.

Unless manufacturers and the authorities arrive at an agreement on tolerable risk levels we might soon find ourselves without new pharmaceuticals.

The industry would then content itself with merely modifying existing drugs.

Stiffer farm controls urged

The Bonn Ministry of Health suspects that too-free use of drugs is the reason that sub-standard meat is finding its way on to the market.

A parliamentary state secretary at the Ministry, Fred Zander, told the Bundestag that the growth of meat production was closely linked with the use of veterinary drugs.

He was replying to a question by Social Democrat MPs.

According to the industry, the total output of veterinary drugs in this country amounted to DM321m in 1980.

Pointing to the illegal trade in veterinary drugs, Zander said that the government was in favour of stiffer controls.

New regulations are to ensure that the pharmaceuticals industry and wholesalers must present lists of who buys drugs.

Martin Wokosinski

(Kölnischer Stadt-Anzeiger, 10 February 1982)

Like any other business, the pharmaceuticals industry depends on profits. Desire for safety must therefore not be allowed to throttle progress.

It frequently happens that, in assessing tolerable risk levels — and risks can never be totally eliminated — we forget the doctor.

It is he who should guarantee that risks and benefits have been weighed carefully before prescribing a drug.

Unfortunately, doctors are frequently ill-informed. As students, they learn virtually nothing about pharmacology and sensible pharmaceutical therapy.

Once in a practice of their own, they frequently generously prescribe costly and ineffectual medication.

They tend to accept catchy but misleading promotion slogans of the manufacturers instead of the advice of experienced and responsible medical researchers and practitioners.

This attitude is bolstered by patients who believe that only drugs can cure them.

Doctors lack uniform, comprehensive and objective information on drugs.

The cost explosion in the health sector lends support to demands for guidelines.

But, rather than improve drug safety this would impair it because economic factors would dominate medical ones.

The lack of care in prescribing drugs has alarmed the federal health authorities.

If the medical profession is unable to protect patients, it is up to the authorities to take action.

A typical example is biguanides, a drug variety used to treat diabetics. These had to be barred from the market because doctors prescribed them too frequently, despite the severe complications they can cause.

The excessive and inept prescription of sulfonyl urea for diabetics has been pilloried as an unjustifiable "therapy of least resistance".

This type of abuse endangers the patient more than the selective prescrip-

tion of effective though to some extent risky drugs.

All this shows that a more realistic attitude towards pharmaceuticals must be adopted.

The term "safety" is illusory because there is no such thing in medicine. What matters is the correct ratio of risk and benefit.

The Federal Republic of Germany is still the world's largest pharmaceuticals exporter with an annual value of close to DM6bn.

This is another reason why we must do everything in our power not to hamper research and development in this field — quite apart from the fact that any one of us can find himself in a position to regret that there is no suitable drug for what ails him.

Rainer Fißli

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 22 January 1982)

Additives are blamed for side effects

Side effects from drugs are not always caused by the drugs themselves. Often the blame lies with additives such as chemical stabilisers, filler or dyes.

Since these additives do not have to be declared, it is frequently difficult to establish what causes allergic reactions or other side effects.

Among the substances that can affect the skin is tartrazine, a yellow dye used in the manufacture of lozenges. Ironically, this substance can even be found in drugs for the treatment of skin ailments.

Doctors have been coming across pseudo-tumours caused by injections of polyvinylpyrrolidone. This substance, which accumulates in the tissues, leads to tumours resembling malignant growths. Professor K. Bork of the Mainz University dermatological department has told the medical journal *deutsche Medizinische Wochenschrift*.

The link between this polyvinylpyrrolidone and the tumours, which disappear after a while of their own accord, is frequently overlooked because it can take years after the injection before they appear.

Polyvinylpyrrolidone was contained in Depot-Impletol, a local anaesthetic, until 1980. It is still part of many other pharmaceuticals. But it is impossible to track it down because such additives do not have to be listed.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 10 February 1982)

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